1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1938-9)1938 Pukapukans

these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the taro beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled taro beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatasa* and *wakamuaina*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the taro beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of taro land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The taro beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*fo*) controls a portion of land (*kaasa*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *vovenga* (slightly larger corms), *vaiwai maiva* (still larger corms), *alapako* (very big corms), and *punia* (enormous ones, as big as *palaka* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonanga", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

433 571 431 Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the household, the mats they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group. Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

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Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

431 195 The word *tauapako* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Tauapako* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphori-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

House Platform

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Most dwelling houses and a few cook houses are built on a platform of coral rubble (*paepae*), several feet larger than the ground area of the house. The rubble is contained by a curbing of coral stones 8 to 10 inches high. Some houses are built on a secondary or upper platform of rubble limited by a coral or log curbing, which forms the house floor and extends about 12 inches beyond the walls of the house. Most houses in the copra settlements are built on a single low platform, gravel inside the house being retained by log curbings.

Variations on Type House

Variations on the type house are found in the copra settlements.

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One house on the back beach of Uta conforms in all particulars to the *wakayamoo* style, save that the ridgepole is supported by two ridgeposts, which stand on the inner side of the end tiebeams. This house combines features from the *wakayamoo* type and the *wale atua* type. Most houses on exposed beaches are permanently covered on three sides with *takapau* mats or *pola* roof sheets fastened to wall poles. Only the leeward side of the house is left open between the ground and low eaves. In exposed situations, cook houses and dwelling houses of the *wakayamoo* type are provided with roof extensions (*taumata*) to cover ovens or to provide a roomy wind break. The rafters on the exposed side of the house are extended to about 18 inches or 2 feet from the ground and supported on subsidiary wall posts and a subsidiary wall plate. The extension is thatched, and permanent *takapau* mats are fastened to the outside of the subsidiary wall posts.

A small typical *wakayamoo* house, used as a sleep house in Yato village, measured 15 feet 8 inches long, 11 feet 7 inches wide; the eaves were 4 feet 6 inches from the ground; and the ridgepole was 9 feet 7 inches from the ground.

Storage Houses

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Houses of the *wakayamoo* type used as storage houses (*wale takataka*) for nuts, fishing gear, or old canoe sections are often built far enough from the village to be safe from fire, but near enough to be easily visited. The floor of a *wale takataka* is used either as a place for lumber storage, or as a workshop for craft activities. According to the number of nut trees a man owns and the number of nuts he has to store, he possesses one or more *wale takataka*. Four houses was the usual number for an average family in former times, before copra was made.

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Storage Platform

Nuts at the *takataka* stage are stored on a platform laid on the tiebeams and occupying the whole area marked out by the tiebeams. The lengths of wood forming the platform and the *rafters* are laid very close together to prevent the intrusion of thieves. Legitimate entry to the platform is made through one or two gates or hatch-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

321 The shell is cut along the section lines with the turtle-shell cutting implement (*taku*) or with a similarly shaped implement made from *pungo* coral (*taku pungo*). The edge of the blade is rubbed back and forward along the division line judged with the eye. A scratch is soon made on the nacreous surface of the shell. By further rubbing along this scratched line and by the addition at frequent intervals of water and sand, if the cutting implement is turtle bone, a narrow groove is formed which is finally deepened until the shell is cut through. A cut section of shell is shaped by rubbing and grinding with coral stone and water. Later the shape of a hook is filed out by the use of the shark skin rasp (*hasosa*).

To smooth the outer convex surface of pearl shell, the shell is rubbed on a large piece of *pungo* coral placed on the ground in front of the worker. Water is used copiously on the rubbing surface. At intervals the shell is dipped into a bowl of clear water or the surface of the shell is rubbed with the fibrous end of a ripe pandanus key to test the sheen and the stage of polishing reached. When the worker is satisfied that he has procured the desired color, he gives the surface of the shell a final polish by rubbing it vigorously with a dry pandanus leaf.

Lashing or suspension holes are made in shell pieces by the use of the pump drill.

Informants could suggest no ceremonial used in the manufacture of pearl-shell ornaments or composite hooks.

321 The shark-skin rasp is prepared as follows:

412 The skin of a freshly killed fish is submerged in fresh water for about eight days.
281 The skin is pegged out in the sun with wooden pegs until thoroughly dry. It is cut into pieces of suitable length and attached to a forked branch. A piece of skin that is flat longitudinally and transversely is attached to a branch to make the *hasosa olo* used for smoothing and polishing fishhook shanks. For the *hasosa wanga* which is used to cut out the curves of composite hook points and the bend of a single-piece hook, a piece of shark skin is scraped on the fleshy surface to remove the stiff membranes. This allows the skin to curl transversely and produces a file, round in cross section (fig. 23*b*).

Shark skin is used for all purposes where a coarse abrasive is needed. The tail of the black ray (*uwi hasu*), also used as a file in the manufacture of pearl shell, is preferred by some because it lasts longer than shark skin.

CANOE CONSTRUCTION

501 Two types of canoe are used in Pukapuka today. One, the simple, one-
322 piece, dugout canoe, is used for fishing inside or outside the reef. The
271 other, a plank canoe with washstrakes and bow and stern covers, is used for fishing and for making expeditions to the islets of Ko and Kotawa. Canoe making is a craft still very much alive in Pukapuka and most households possess two or more canoes, one a dugout, the others larger plank canoes.

171 The single-piece dugout (*poti pukuna*) does not seem to be an old-style
501 canoe. The only name for it is *poti*, a word probably derived from the
322 English word boat; if this derivation is correct, it is evidence in support of informants' contention that the canoe style is new. Informants suggested that formerly there were not sufficient big trees on the atoll to enable craftsmen to make single-piece canoes. The *poti* in use today is a simple hull balanced by outrigger and two cross booms.